For about seven
221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
[222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers, rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger. Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
221 411 184 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
[789] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees (Mauritia vinifera) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments), feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
● 412 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
[77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission expanded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
[415] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to carry water.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the *"Arawak"* type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

Weapons.—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

[p. 92(B)]

412 415 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes, knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments, the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps this basket on the back of a boy while he walks in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along the way. Whenever they kill some animal or [264] catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and prepare a meal. During the dry season they are at home anywhere in their band territory, moving only when hunger spurs them on.

411 412 177 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the Waklítisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes, two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were hidden near their permanent house. Each man had a butcher knife, but all men did not have bows and arrows. There did not appear to be any desire on the part of each man to possess these implements. So long as the band had a few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied. Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a [439] few days, however, he had given the bow and arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*) made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden handle wound with twine; a small bamboo [306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*Mskatu*), used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in making beads; a piece of sandstone (*ddligisu*), used as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the lixeiro tree (*kle'énatu*), used as sandpaper; and a 415 comb (*ha'dlatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single wooden mortar and pestle did service for the whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the Nambicuara is the bow, *húkisu*, made from the piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside. One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and 14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p.93(A)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17Nambicuara SP17

a dois. As cestas de carga têm grande capacidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes lateraes, passando pelas axilas e pelas espaduas de la india portadora.

Os Nhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a arjila misturada á grande porção de cinzas (Fig. 2).

[323]

FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS NHAMBIQUÁRA.
[Nambicuara pottery]

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, uzam do machado de pedra (diabaze) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordeis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue deitar abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella pena de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de condecoração conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto, mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distincções, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alizados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na coleção, entre 1 m. 80, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexa de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precizámos uma força de tração correspondente á 60 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocaryum tucum*), e tem um diametro de 2 mm.

[313 412]

FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABAZE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.
[Stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm aspétos diferentes e pódemser caracterizadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente lisa e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *e*); o segundo se caracteriza por um pequeno aculeo fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *af*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Nhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *cd*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fios de

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amúesa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

7. Roquette-Pinto--22C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[220]

#12

Fig. 17. Tomaru--Grater of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22E E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

● 412

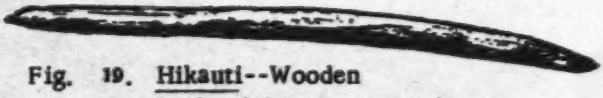

Fig. 19. Hikauti--Wooden knife of the Tawaite Indians.

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[252] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaguis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

7:Roquette-Pinto--23A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 20. Implement made from a piece of iron by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--24A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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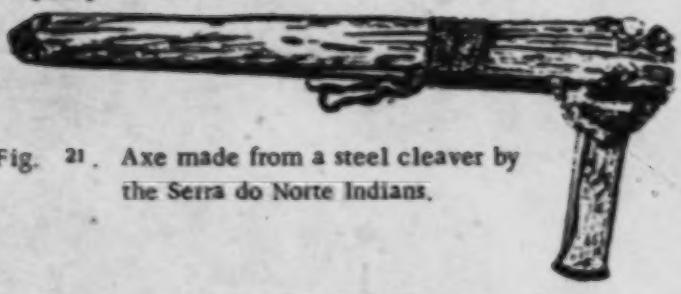

Fig. 21. Axe made from a steel cleaver by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--248 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

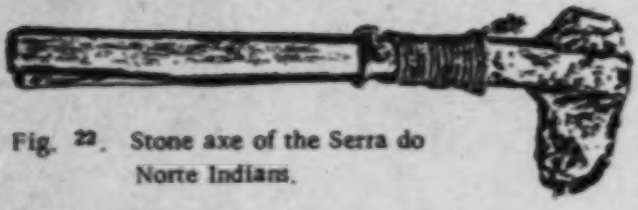

Fig. 22. Stone axe of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--30A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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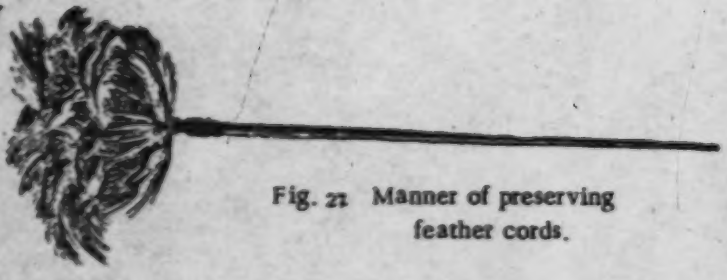

Fig. 21 Manner of preserving feather cords.

Çabanè

/214 cont./

278 Only the bark of the roots impregnated with a reddish,
824 gummy juice is used in the preparation of curare. The plants which grow in sandy places are considered to be richer in poison; they are recognized by the bright red color and moisture exuding from incisions made in the bark. Roots from clayey earth are dry and considered incapable of giving an active product.

The Nambikwara of the Juruena consider it essential to gather the roots in the morning at dawn before the sun gets too hot, and they only use fresh bark. The Çabanè use dried, stored bark by preference.

Çabanè Curare

278 The preparation of Çabanè curare may be taken as typical. It comprises three main operations: draining of the bark in portions with fresh water; rapid boiling to rid the product of some of its impurities; slow concentration at low heat.

[illegible] Immediately after their harvest the roots are washed and then scraped with a splinter of bamboo or a piece of iron to detach the bark. Small, very fine shavings are thereby obtained which are dried and kept in baskets or gourds.

[illegible] Draining of the bark. The bark is placed in a small, elongated basket (kɔnɔ̨simatá) of bamboo lamellae reinforced by large leaves (kɔnɔ̨kɔnɔ̨sí) and hung by two vertical supports over an earthen dish. Over the bark they pour 200 to 250 cubic centimeters of cold water; a blood-red liquid filters off slowly. The filtering takes 15 to 20 minutes; when it is almost over fresh water is again poured over the bark. This operation is repeated six to eight times until the bark is exhausted (Pl. IV, A-B).

[illegible] Boiling on a brisk fire. After each operation the liquid obtained is poured into a receptacle placed directly over a strong fire; it is constantly /215/ stirred with a wooden spatula and does not take long to boil in large bubbles. When it

/215 cont./

278 threatens to overflow it is removed from the fire for a second and then put back to boil. A thick, reddish scum forms which [414] holds the largest impurities; it is removed as it appears with a straw from a palm tree (Pl. V, A). After five to ten minutes on an average the boiling diminishes; the liquid turns brown [415] and begins to thicken. It is then taken from the fire and poured with the aid of a funnel (kõ̤li) made from a rolled leaf into a new receptacle to be concentrated (Pl. IV, C).

[416] [172] Concentration. The concentration is done in a receptacle (here, a tin can from the mission) suspended 40 or 50 centimeters above a small fire, into which successive portions of liquid are added as they are prepared. The concentration takes two to three hours. According to its degree /of concentration/ they obtain a thick blackish-brown liquid, reddish when looked through, ready to be applied to the arrows with a straw, or a black paste which becomes very hard on cooling and can be kept for a long time. Before being used this paste must be softened at low heat.

The Çabanè recommend that one not touch the curare with the fingers nor even breathe the steam from it during the boiling. This hypothetical toxicity of the steam had already been noted by former travelers; it was even asserted that these emanations were so dangerous that the Indians had the curare prepared by old women who almost always succumbed to it. One can see (Pl. V, A) that the Çabanè sorcerer is not afraid of it.

Curare does not enter healthy skin; and the Ñambikwara of the Juruena press the water-soaked bark between their hands, taking the sole precaution of washing immediately afterward. The steam that I voluntarily inhaled never caused me the least sickness.

[172] The Çabanè call curare and the plant which produces it irĩwa, and the still unconcentrated liquid from soaking iriwiya. The Tagnani name the plant and the curare naĩdẽ̤.

Plate V

A

B

C

D

/See captions on next page./

8:Vellard--17a D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate V

278 Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A. The curare is skimmed during the boiling.

[412] B. Testing of the degree of concentration of the product with the aid of a straw.

[415 824] C. Funnel made of a leaf rolled into a horn and the leaf used to make it.

[415 323] D. A pot of grey clay, badly baked, used to prepare and keep curare (Nhambikwara of the Cabixi River).